

841 From other information obtained how-  
 584 ever, it appears that women were married to these same lovers after the former left the menstrual lodge, so that the presence of men in these lodges may be taken either as a part of the wooing or as one of the methods of marriage. Some theorists may be inclined to look on this feature of the practices connected with the menstrual lodge as a survival of a "women's house." To those the fact may be emphasized that it is only a few times in the life of a woman that such a feature exists, because she is married shortly after leaving the lodge.\*

## MARRIAGE

582 Girls were usually married as soon as they reached marriageable age, and the same was probably true of men. In most cases marriage was arranged by the parents of the young people, and it rarely happened that the latter refused to abide by the decision—a fact that seems to have been due not so much to implicit obedience as to the wise precautions taken by the parents in mating their children. If, however, the young people absolutely refused to abide by their parents' choice, the latter always yielded. In former times children were betrothed to each other at an early age. At the betrothal presents were exchanged between the parents of the prospective bride and groom. The girl was said to be *dohore'na*.

595 Generally a man took but one wife, although he was permitted to marry more than one if he wished. In polygamous marriages the second wife was usually a niece or a sister of the first wife. According to a very reliable informant it was the wife herself who often induced her husband to marry her own niece. This she did if she noticed that he was getting tired of her or losing his interest in her.<sup>1</sup>

585 There was no ceremony connected with marriage. As soon as the customary presents were exchanged, the man came to the woman's lodge and the marriage was consummated.

● 591 A man generally lived with his parents-in-law during the first two  
 [583] years after his marriage. During these two years he was practically the servant of his father-in-law, hunting, fishing, and performing minor services for him. Many Winnebago interpreted these enforced services of a son-in-law as part of his marriage obligations toward his father-in-law. After the first two years he returned to

\* Were it not for the fact that his informant in this case was exceedingly reliable the writer would be inclined to regard with suspicion the statement as to the use of the menstrual lodge as a rendezvous for lovers. It seems, however, that the very fact that the informant shows so great abhorrence of the menues would have prevented him from attributing to men intimacy with women at this time had there been any doubt in his mind on the subject. Nevertheless his statement on the point under discussion seems peculiar and the author would not be surprised if he had exaggerated greatly the number of men willing to leave the lodge and weakness incident on contact with women during the menstrual period.

<sup>1</sup> As one of my informants said, "A man can marry a woman and her niece. If the man is not steady and goes around with other women, it is customary for the wife to call her niece, and she would marry her aunt's husband. This is done to steady the man. In this way one or the other will always be with him. The same is true of sisters."

same)

## GENERAL SOCIAL CUSTOMS

139

his father's lodge, where his seat had always been kept for him.<sup>591</sup> With his own folks he stayed as long as he wished, leaving it generally as soon as he decided to live alone—a decision that was usually reached as soon as he had one child or a number of children. However, he did not always build his own lodge, especially in the olden times, when it was customary for those Winnebago who lived in permanent villages to occupy the long gable-roofed lodges, that frequently were large enough to house as many as 40 people. In such cases a man and his family generally alternated between his parents-in-law and his own parents.

## ADOPTION

Adoption of individuals was quite frequent in former times. As far as the writer knows, however, it always took the form of replacing of a deceased child by some other child physically resembling the one lost. I do not know whether there were any additional considerations if the child adopted happened to be a prisoner. As the name for adoption (*wanayze'rek'inayk*) indicates, it is closely connected with the common belief in reincarnation, meaning either the exchange of one spirit for another or the replacing of the spirit. A special feast could be given for adoption or it could be done at one of the regular feasts. As the child adopted was often the "friend" (*hiteak'd'ro*) of the deceased and in any case had parents living, presents were always given to his parents. [775]

Perhaps a better idea of the nature of adoption can be obtained from the following few words of an informant:

When a child dies, then the father mourns for many years, and if during that time he happens to meet a child that resembles his dead child he asks to be allowed to adopt him. The parents of the child can hardly object to such a request.<sup>\*</sup> [765]

<sup>\*</sup> There is no doubt in my mind that quite a number of parents believe that such a person is really their reincarnated child.

174 the bear in others, although both are also often found together.

614 Looking at our facts from another point of view, it is quite  
621 clear that clan segregation must not be taken too literally.

621 Clan exogamy would necessarily prevent that. If the old  
exogamy of the two divisions was in force and a man was thus  
compelled to marry into his mother's division but not into her  
clan, every village would have had to be arranged in an extremely  
artificial manner, that was not likely to have occurred frequently.

• [591] That a man often lived with his parents-in-law, would in addition  
again disorganize the regularity of the scheme. Finally, we have  
the evidence of the myths, which often speak of a man as depart-  
ing on a journey when seeking a bride. All these customs,  
cutting across the village scheme in a number of ways, must  
have rendered it a rather complex unit. That, in spite of all  
this, clan exogamy could have been maintained even in a small  
village is unquestionable, but the reason for this lay, we suspect,  
in the limitation of the concept of blood-relations. With  
these considerations in mind, we may, then, admit clan segre-  
gation.

#### *Individual Names.*

614 With the animal appellation of the clan, one naturally  
551 associates animal names of individuals, for there is, indeed,  
182 a correlation between them. Animal names of individuals  
are, however, frequently found when the social units have  
names of an entirely different kind. A similar lack of correlation  
exists between the manner and system of naming and the type  
of social organization. That, on the other hand, the social  
organization may fundamentally influence the nature of the  
individual name is also apparent. Only with these points in  
mind can the Winnebago individual names become intelligible.

614 The study of Winnebago names can be approached from a  
551 purely static point of view, and the attempt made to bring  
174 them analytically under a certain system of naming; or, on the  
other hand, from a dynamic historical view-point. We shall  
try to undertake both. Every clan has a distinct set of names.

The Winnebago individual names lend themselves easily  
to categories of classification. We have the following classes: